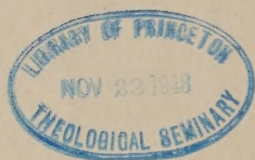


BAALBEK PALMYRA

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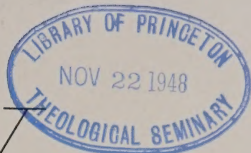


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BAALBEK / PALMYRA



PALMYRA, COLONNADE OF COURT OF TEMPLE OF BÊL



BAALBEK PALMYRA

PHOTOGRAPHS *by* HOYNINGEN-HUENE

WITH TEXT *by* DAVID M. ROBINSON

The Johns Hopkins University



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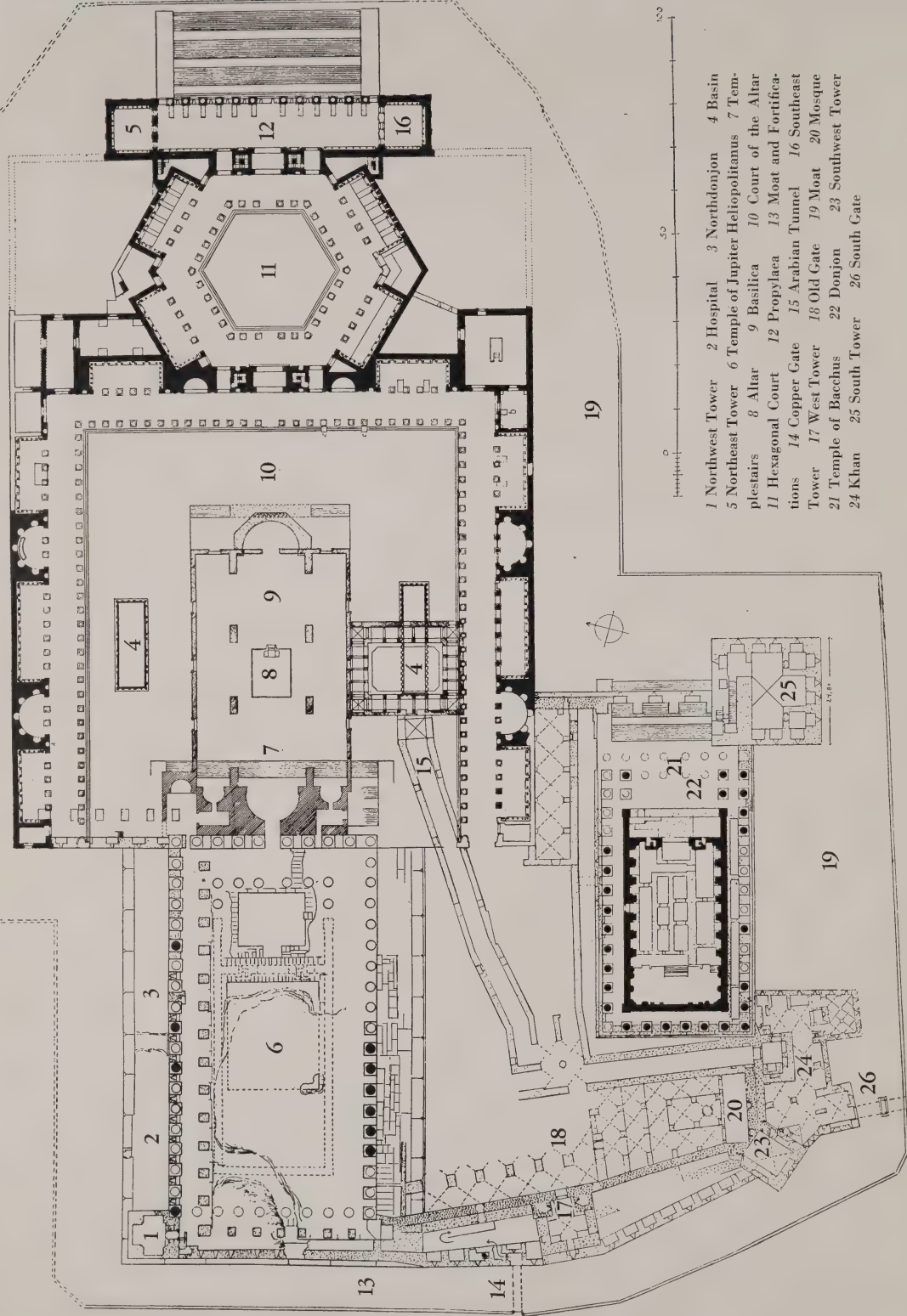
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BAALBEK, THE SACRED SANCTUARY SITE

PLAN OF BAALBEK



- 1 Northwest Tower
- 2 Hospital
- 3 Northdonjon
- 4 Basin
- 5 Northeast Tower
- 6 Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus
- 7 Temple stairs
- 8 Altar
- 9 Basilica
- 10 Court of the Altar
- 11 Hexagonal Court
- 12 Propylaea
- 13 Moat and Fortifications
- 14 Copper Gate
- 15 Arabian Tunnel
- 16 Southeast Tower
- 17 West Tower
- 18 Old Gate
- 19 Moat
- 20 Mosque
- 21 Temple of Bacchus
- 22 Donjon
- 23 Southwest Tower
- 24 Khan
- 25 South Tower
- 26 South Gate

History

Baalbek is the most impressive Hellenistic site in Syria because of the magnificent temple ruins and the gigantic stones used in the surrounding walls, two miles in circumference. It is situated in the midst of superb and splendid scenery (*Page 28*), between the rivers Leontes and Orontes, 3850 feet above sea level, on the caravan route from Damascus to Tyre, along which the natives say that Abraham passed. The region is very fertile and is especially cele-

brated for its grapes and wines. Baalbek itself is in the center of the plain of Coele-Syria (the Beka or Bika'a), midway between the sea at Beirut and Damascus. Snow-capped peaks of the Lebanon mountain range furnish a wonderful view of the west, especially at sunset. To the east are the red sandstone summits of the Anti-Lebanon range. Here in one of its spurs, about half a mile to the south of the modern town, in the quarries, the famous great stone, weighing more than a thousand tons, seventy by fourteen by thirteen feet, called the trilithon, is still lying tilted up, as if it were ready for dragging or hauling to the temple site. The stone is dense, somewhat crystalline in texture, originally of a white color which has turned in the temples to a deep gray or golden. It is a splendid stone, which can be worked and cut into most delicate designs, as the temples show.

The name is Arabic but goes back to early Semitic days, as it occurs in Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions in the form "Baalbeki." Probably one of the local Semitic divinities (be 'alim) was worshipped here under the Semitic title Ba'al, which means proprietor. The *Chronicon Paschale* (I, 561) tells us that the title of the god of Baalbek was Balanios or ba'al-an, from which we get the god Baal, more correctly spelled Bêl. Scholars are not agreed about the meaning of the last half of the name Baalbek, but it may designate the sun. In any case, Baalbek was called by the Greeks, Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, and the Romans identified Bêl with Jupiter and called him Jupiter Heliopolitanus, holding in one hand a whip with which he drives two bulls, and in the other a thunderbolt and ears of grain.

The early history of Baalbek is obscure. Solomon is said to have built temples to Bêl here. Dr. Thomson and others have thought that it might be the Bêl-Gad of Hermon mentioned in the Bible.

Others have suggested Balaath, the frontier city of Solomon or Bêl-hamon, the garden of the Canticles or Bêl Bêl-Hermon. We really cannot identify Baalbek definitely with any Biblical site. Natives say that Cain founded the city and erected the walls as a protection against vengeance for the murder of his brother Abel and that giants settled there and were drowned in the flood. There is also a local story that Nimrod, the mighty hunter, built a high tower at Baalbek to fight the gods. Dussaud thought it was the same as Kar-Hadad cited among cities captured by Tiglath-Pileser III in 738 B.C.; but the first certain references to Baalbek are in Roman days when Augustus made it a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Heliopolitana. Nero seems to have built the present temple of Jupiter and not Antoninus Pius as generally stated. Trajan consulted the oracle there. Septimius Severus bestowed upon it the *ius Italicum*, and Caracalla (211-217 A.D.) did much building and restoration. Under his successor, Heliogabalus, the worship of Bêl continued at Heliopolis with Heliogabalus himself as High Priest of Bêl. He was assassinated, but the religion of Bêl still flourished in this outpost of paganism. Constantine in the early part of the fourth century put a stop to the worship of Venus, and Theodosius (379-395 A.D.) built a Christian basilica in the Great Court of the Temple of Jupiter. The French have destroyed it in order to clear and excavate the court. This is unfortunate as students of church architecture would like to have the church with its three naves (the central one of double width) preserved for future study as to whether it dates from the time of Theodosius or from the sixth century A.D., as Thiersch believes. Detailed drawings and restorations, however, can be seen in the third volume of Wiegand's publication.

Later History

The Arabs under Ubu Ubaida came in 635 after they had conquered Damascus and transformed the temple district and acropolis into a fortified citadel. Rivals for the caliphate 'Ali and Mu'awiya, fought for it in 659. El-Welid (705-715) removed the gilt-bronze dome of the church and used it as the "Dome of the Rock" in Jerusalem. Mauvan II (744-748) destroyed the walls, and fanatics massacred the inhabitants in the tenth century. In 1110 Tughtakin, emir of Damascus, captured it and from then on it was under the control of Damascus. In 1139 (when it was captured by the Emir of Aleppo) and 1170, earthquakes did much damage. In 1175 it was captured by Saladin, and in 1260 the Mongol Hulagu destroyed it. But it rose, like the phoenix bird of the Egyptian Heliopolis, from its ashes under the Mameluke Sultans and especially under Kalawun (1277-1290) to whose reign belong the Muslim buildings. In 1400 Tamerlane destroyed it again, but it recovered and in 1517 it passed under Ottoman rule. But the Mutawilis were stronger than the Turks and were in control till in the second half of the eighteenth century Jezzar (called the Butcher) again partially destroyed it. In 1759 and in 1795 bad earthquakes did much damage. R. Wood's book on Palmyra and Baalbek gives drawings made before this earthquake, when the temples were better preserved than today. In 1832 came Ibrahim Pasha, adopted son of Mohammed Ali, after whom the citadel in Cairo is still named. In 1840 Baalbek was again Turkish. In 1850 it was governed by local emirs, vassals of the Porte. In 1860 there were massacres and in recent days it has been under a French mandate.

Archaeology and the Monuments

The acropolis, called by the Romans Trilithon because of the great stones, is to the west of the modern town. The entrance was

reconstructed by the Germans in 1905. Within its area are two temples, that of Jupiter (often called the Temple of the Sun), and that of Bacchus, sarcastically called the "Little Temple" despite its enormous proportions. They are built on an artificial terrace supported by vaults, twenty-four to forty-two feet above the ground. The entire length of the terrace would be eight hundred and eighty feet, and its width across the central court about four hundred feet. Part of the enclosing wall, especially in the sacred rampart on the northwest, is built of gigantic stones. Three of these have a length of sixty-four, sixty-three and a half, and sixty-two and a half feet respectively, by fourteen feet high and eleven feet thick, enough stone to build, as Dr. Kelman says, a house with a frontage and depth of sixty feet and forty feet high, with walls one foot in thickness. I have already spoken of the similar trilithon, as such stones were called by Byzantine historians, still lying in the quarries. How these gigantic stones, which have a size of three hundred and twenty-four cubic feet, among the largest blocks ever used in a building, could be transported and raised to position by hand and mechanical appliances (lever and derrick), and how the weight could be distributed among the many Roman workmen, is still a marvel and astounds all visitors who are shown these blocks. They are twenty-six feet above the ground, so accurately joined that the blade of a knife cannot be inserted between the joints. The lowest course consists only of stones about thirteen feet long; the middle courses, into which these big blocks are built, come higher up.

Propylaea

The original entrance to the precinct was on the east. Here a broad flight of stairs ascended to a great portico flanked at either end by a square masonry tower, and in the center of the portico a great door opened into the hexagonal outer court of the Temple

of Jupiter. Though the stairway is no longer to be seen, the roof is gone, and the columns have fallen, the wreck of the massive rear wall and the battered towers still impose grandeur upon the entrance to the courts of the Sun. When it was built, in the second century of our era, the propylaeum was a glittering, grandiose structure, infused with the scenic quality which is especially characteristic of Near Eastern architecture of the period. Such a monumental gateway was an integral part of the grandly conceived scheme of courts, altar, and temple. In the propylaeum itself are blended Greek, Egyptian, and Oriental elements. The rectangular solidity of the building and the flanking towers are inevitably reminiscent of the pylons before Egyptian temple courts, the colonnaded portico is in the Greek tradition, and the decoration is oriental in its magnificence. Yet the whole is harmonious and unified: a great colonnade of tall, polished columns, and a profusion of carving and gilded decoration, held together and firmly anchored to the earth by the simplicity and strength of the flanking towers.

The colonnade itself is about a hundred and sixty-five feet wide and about thirty-eight feet deep. The twelve huge, unfluted Corinthian columns carried rather an elaborate entablature and cornice. Above the six middle columns rose a gable, with raking cornice, a simulated temple front, so to speak. The two center columns were set considerably wider apart than the others so as to flank and emphasize the central great door, which leads into the hexagonal court. Above these two columns, in the center of the pediment, was a relieving arch, the entablature round which was continuous with the horizontal entablature. The pediment, the arch beneath it, and the great doorway, together with the widely spaced columns, supplied a central emphasis necessary in a propylaeum.

Each tower was almost a hundred feet high and more than thirty feet square and projected about nearly seventeen feet above the

roof of the colonnade. The lower part of the tower was of perfectly plain masonry up to the level of the floor of the colonnade. Then above a transitional molding were two superimposed rows of pilasters, a common decorative treatment in Roman Syria, and the whole was crowned by a shallow gabled roof. The diminution in size of the pilasters tended to give the towers a battered appearance, slightly resembling the more pronounced batter of the Egyptian pylon. The entablature above the lower pilasters was continuous with that above the great portico columns, and the pilasters themselves repeated the lines of the columns to form a most satisfying rhythmical pattern.

The portico columns stood on high square podiums below their normal base moldings. Both bases and capitals were decorated with gilded bronze, to which the plain polished shafts served as perfect foils, as also to the richness of the entablature and the wall decoration. The wall of the portico behind the columns was pierced by the great main doorway and by two smaller doors only half as large, one at either side. Two superimposed rows of engaged columns ornamented the wall, and in some of the niches formed by them stood works of sculpture. The interiors of the towers were similarly decorated. The workmanship and architectural carving of the propylaea is very skilful and fine. The Corinthian pilasters and antae show both diminution and entasis, a degree of refinement distinctly unusual in the second century of the Christian era; and at the internal angles of the side chambers we find two half pilasters meeting at right angles, a treatment which Professor Fyfe says puzzled Renaissance architects. The shell ornament, too, of some of the semi-domed niche heads is particularly lovely. The masonry of the towers seems never to have been given a final finish, for nearly all the stones have a rough projection at both top and bottom edges, and it is probable that this method was considered

the safest one for securing perfectly clean horizontal joining in the facework.

The rich decoration, however, and the devices of architectural refinement were subordinated and directed toward the total effect of the propylaea so that it was a grandly impressive monumental entrance to the courts and temple beyond. Through its portal one entered directly into the Hexagonal Court.

Hexagonal Court

Within the Propylaea was an unusual hexagonal forecourt about two hundred feet in diameter. It was entered by a lofty central door and two small side doors which form part of a richly ornamented screen. At the opposite, west, side three other doors led into the Great Court of the Altar (*Page 34*). The inner gateways were flanked with towers. The six portico columns on the east end, west of the forecourt, had pediments as did the eight central columns of the Court of the Altar. About the forecourt was a peristyle or double colonnade. On the four sides where there were no doorways, there were exedrae, rectangular recesses in the surrounding wall, each exedra on the north and south side originally with four columns in front. These exedrae were changed into fortifications by the Moslems. This hexagonal court is of a rare form, possibly under Semitic influence. It, like the Court of the Altar, was elevated at least thirty feet above the ground on the outside.

Court of the Altar

Three majestic doorways of which only the northern one is well preserved, led up to the Court of the Altar, which seems to date later than the temple, from the second century A. D. It is based on a square of about 340 feet each way (400 by 450 feet over the

external walls), but it is really, with its extensions, about a hundred and fifty yards long by a hundred and twenty-five yards wide. In the center, where the great altar had been, was erected by Theodosius the Christian church comprising three naves, the central one of double width now removed by the French excavators, as has been said above. Originally the apses were built into the steps leading to the Temple of Jupiter. Later a new apse was built at the east. All these are gone. On either side of the altar was a long water-basin for lustration or a piscina. In building the church, the Temple stairway was covered by the three apses, and half of the altar was demolished, but the other half still stands, its beautifully constructed base-stones reminding one of early Greek altar platforms in front of the temples. The court was surrounded on three sides by a colonnade of eighty-four polished unfluted Corinthian columns, behind which along the walls were colonnaded and richly ornamented exedrae, alternately square and circular, as in the Pantheon in Rome. The semi-circular exedrae, or hemicycles, had half-domes, and the others also had pilasters and niches with rich ornate decorations. The eight central columns of the east portico had a richly decorated pediment. The central intercolumniation was wider than the others as in the Propylaea, and was spanned by an arch. The whole horizontal entablature was continued unbroken round the arch, whereas in the smaller porticoes the entablature was broken and spanned by a special arch. This use of the arch which necessitates vaulting of part of the portico, was very rare before the second century. At the east end is a square chamber with a small museum built near it for objects found in the excavations. The exedrae and colonnades were supported by two parallel galleries, with stone barrel vaults, the floors level with the ground outside. At the southeast corner was a descent with a vaulted roof which under the outer substructures afforded an entrance for

chariots, as Fyfe says, "a piece of fine engineering on a big scale." The workmanship and ornaments on the pilasters and entablatures and ceiling are exquisite, as can be seen on Pages 34-38.

Temple of Jupiter

Ascending the grand stairway of sixteen steps (*Page 40*) which has now been freed by the demolition of the three apses of the Christian basilica of Theodosius, we come to the remains of three apses at the top of the broad staircase. The central one was pierced by a single portal which leads to the upper terrace or Court of the Temple. Here in the center of the inner court and longitudinally in line with the axis of the temple-complex and whole sacred precinct, is one of the world's wonders, built on a stupendous scale, the Great Temple of the Sun, which was really a temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and all the gods of Heliopolis, a kind of Pantheon. The main deity worshipped, however, was Jupiter. John Malalas of Antioch in the sixth century A.D. says that "Aelius Antoninus Pius built at Heliopolis of Phoenicia, in Lebanon, a great temple to Jupiter." The magnificent temple is built on massive foundations, and the space between the foundations and the encircling wall of the court (thirty-three feet) is filled with blocks of stone. They were peripteral, perhaps pseudo-dipteral, with fifty-four columns, nineteen on the sides and ten at the ends. Six (*Pages 43 and 44*) are still standing with their entablature on the southwest side. These were constructed of golden granite or sandstone with great care and in three sections called drums. These huge drums, like the three smaller drums of the Temple of Bacchus which imitated the Temple of Jupiter and which we shall discuss next, were not fluted and had no entasis as in many Greek and Roman buildings. Fluted columns are rare in Syria, though such channeling was exquisitely cut with great accuracy after the columns were in

place, in Syria's best classical temple, that of Bêl at Palmyra to be described in the second section of this volume. The drums had three small square holes for dowels instead of one large hole such as is found in the drums of the Temple of Bacchus. There were narrow grooves on top of the drums so that molten lead could be inserted after the drums were in place to produce so-called joggle-joints. Such dowel-holes were known in early Greek architecture, but they are especially characteristic of Hellenistic structures. The holes at the joints which appear in the illustrations were made by Arabs who bored into the grooves along the original lines from the outer circumference, to secure the lead, a feature seen in classical ruins all over the ancient world. The columns were built on blocks, at the base, ten feet square by seven feet high, including the plinth and the circular molding. The stylobate on which the columns rest is forty-four and one half feet above the ground level of the plain and twenty-three feet above the Court of the Altar. It is three hundred and two feet long by a hundred and seventy feet wide, and the columns are about sixty-five feet high, seven and a half feet in diameter. The capitals were of the Corinthian order. They are beautifully carved, and the designs reach to the top of the abacus, adding to the feeling of tallness and attenuation which is also characteristic of Palmyra. The proportion of total height to lower diameter is nine and a half to one, adding much to the temple's verticality. Above the columns is an entablature more than sixteen feet high, consisting of architrave, frieze, and cornice. The architrave is of the usual form and is in three sections, richly ornamented. There was a bead and reel or astragal at the top of each section and at the top a palmette design. In the fantastic frieze recalling Persian architecture was a series of projecting corbels or consoles, five to every intercolumniation, in the form of a palmette or volute, and adorned above alternately with the head of a lion or

bull. These recurring vertical elements are joined by fine festoons of leaves and fruits. Above the frieze was a guilloche or braided pattern, then dentils, another bead and reel, then horizontal inverted modillions, and above them the lower vertical member (corona) of the cornice decorated with a meander or fret pattern of good Greek design. On the sima above this (*see Page 39*) is a scroll or palmette pattern, into which lion's heads originally were introduced at intervals. This beautiful and delicate anthemion on the corona of the cornice is not to be found in the West at so early a date as that of this temple of Baalbek. The richness of treatment is characteristic of late Hellenistic times. The whole entablature is rich and elaborate but severe. As Fyfe says, "the free scroll-work and recurrent lion heads of the cornice are in the direct tradition of Tegea and Priene . . . There is a gravity in the grouping . . . which is profoundly interesting and which must have given a verticality to the detailed treatment of the whole entablature and pediment even more pronounced than that of the Doric order . . . This was one of the tallest orders of classical times, and on the fragment of entablature in position, the detail from below appears consistently delicate."

The building inside the columns, the interior cella, was completely demolished by the erection of fortresses, and besides the temple ruins have been used as a quarry throughout the ages and subjected to robbery by Arabs, Turks, and tourists. It probably was some two hundred and ninety feet long by a hundred and sixty feet wide. The temple had in front stairs of approach between podia which projected on either side to the east from the great platform, the walls of which go down to the level of the Court of the Altar.

The date of the temple has been much disputed. The passage cited above from Malalas attributes it to Antoninus (138-161

A.D.). Some have said that it was finished by Caracalla (211-217 A.D.), but an inscription recently found by the French as they removed the Theodosian Church assigns it to the time of Nero. Professor Robertson in his *Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (p. 340) dates it with a question mark even as early as 10 A.D. Many features do suggest the Golden Age of Augustus, such as the capitals, the moldings, the corbels, the fret-pattern under the sima, and other details, but particularly the grandeur and harmonious beauty of the whole.

Temple of Bacchus (Pages 45-53)

Forty yards to the south of the Temple of Jupiter, outside the rectangular court of that temple and not connected with it, stands on an independent though parallel, lower terrace with a different substructure and on its own stylobate, the Temple of Bacchus. It used to be called a Temple of Jupiter, and some scholars such as the German Thiersch attribute it to Atargatis or Demeter or the Magna Mater or Great Mother Goddess. Next to the Temple of Bêl at Palmyra, it is Syria's grandest classical temple. This unique and interesting temple resembles in plan the splendid Temple of Artemis at Jerash with a shorter cella, but it is one of the most important monuments in Syria. In all Syria and even in Rome itself there is nothing finer than this Corinthian temple. It is Syria's best preserved and most beautiful Roman ruin. Its magnificent interior cella is the best preserved anywhere in the Roman world. The peristyle has nineteen of the original forty-six columns preserved. Several others are standing in their lower sections (*Page 45*). Pages 46 and 47 show some which have fallen or are leaning against the cella wall. There were originally fifteen elegant Corinthian columns on the sides and eight on the ends, each of three drums as in the Temple of Jupiter, making the temple of Bacchus

octastyle. The smaller columns of the pronaos or porch were fluted, those of the rest of the peristyle unfluted, affording a fine foil to the fluted columns and to the flowers and rich decoration of capitals and entablature. The columns are fifty-seven feet high and support an entablature with a fine frieze, which is joined to the cella by great stone blocks, which formed the arched roof. They were ornamented with busts and geometric designs such as we shall see at Palmyra. The columns are less tall than those of the Temple of Jupiter. The temple is smaller than the Temple of Jupiter, yet greater in area than the Parthenon, that majestic marvel of architecture "the best gem that the Earth wears on her zone," as Emerson says. Many of the columns and pilasters have diminution in diameter of the shafts and entasis, as in the Propylaea, and in two temples at Jerash, a rare feature. The delicacy of profile is such as is rarely found in Roman temples of the west. It seems to me that while the temple is much better preserved, it has not the grandeur and delicacy and fineness of workmanship of the Temple of Jupiter. The decoration gives one the impression of being inspired by that temple. It shows decided influence of the other temple and so must be later in date, even though it was begun in the middle of the first century A.D. and is decidedly Hellenistic in style. There are, however, many independent features such as the flowers with the freshness of Gothic work on the plinths or abaci above the Corinthian capitals. Professor Robertson (p. 342) dates the temple c. 100 A.D., and most of its decoration surely dates from the second century.

The temple, without an exterior court, was built on a high Roman podium with moldings at top and bottom, built of large ashlar blocks and projecting far out at the east to enclose at either end the broad three tiered staircase which led directly to the pronaos. The rough stylobate was two hundred and fourteen feet long by a hun-

dred and ten feet wide, of only two shallow steps and not the usual three. It has a deep vestibule or pronaos to the east approached by a broad flight of steps, partly obscured by a later Arabian tower and building battery. There were three rows of columns in the pronaos, though the temple was monopteral and not dipteral on all the other three sides. The eight columns in front were fluted but the second row of six were unfluted. The column opposite to the end or anta of each projecting side wall of the cella was fluted, making an ornate and impressive alternation. At the interior of the pronaos is the well preserved portal shown on Page 52, which some think is the most beautiful part of the whole temple. It certainly reminds one, in the entrance end of the cella, of baroque architecture as the shrine does of scenic architecture. It is abundantly adorned on the monolithic doorposts and on the lintels with bacchantes, satyrs, genii, lizards, birds and small animals less than an inch in size in the midst of clusters of grapes, nuts, and garlands. But the workmanship is exquisite and the carving almost as artistic as on the North Door of the Erechtheum or on the Temple of Mars Ultor or as the gorgeous garlands of the Ara Pacis in Augustan Rome, where we have a similar mingling of birds, insects, and foliage. The central intercolumniation was wide, to give a good view of the beauty of the huge grand portal with a flat lintel of three blocks (*Page 52*) surmounted by a projecting cornice and consoles on either side as in the Erechtheum. On the lower side of the lintel is an eagle such as carried off Ganymede (*Page 48*) to be butler and cup-bearer to Bacchus and Zeus and the other gods, represented on parts of the elaborately carved, somewhat concave coffered ceiling of the pteron or peristyle. In the recessed square and lozenge-shaped panels of the peristyle ceiling are also many symbolical Oriental heads. Some would see even Egyptian influence in the eagle's wings as seen over Egyptian doorways, but the eagle was also

Greek and Roman and we need not argue therefrom that there was Egyptian influence at Baalbek, even though the towers with winding interior stairs, within the cella on either side of the portal suggest the Egyptian pylon.

Inside the cella, eighty-seven feet long by seventy-five feet wide, the plan of which resembles a Christian church more than a pagan temple, is a podium along the north and south walls. On this podium on either side were six fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals, to which six fluted Corinthian half-columns were engaged, making a curious combination of two capitals, one flat, the other round. Between these pilasters was a double tier of niches, those below broad and arched at the top, those above narrow, rectangular, and crowned with triangular pediments. Those above were probably filled with statues of Diana and her stag, of Bacchus, Venus, and other deities. One should look at the beautiful restoration in Wiegand's epoch-making work on *Baalbek*, II, Plate 17, to realize the gorgeousness of this unique interior which has gone far beyond the interior of such earlier Greek temples as those at Bassae and Tegea. Above the pilasters was a broken entablature which came out over the half columns and went back to the main wall alternately. The wooden ceiling was flat and not vaulted as is often supposed. Double quarter columns were in the angles near the pronaos, and six half columns on the north and south sides. About three-quarters of the way down the cella to the west was a flight of nine interior stairs across the whole cella. Then comes on either side another niche between columns and a broad pilaster on either side, beyond which a second flight of seven steps led up to a second higher platform with a vaulted crypt beneath it. On each side of the steps were two engaged columns with arched and rectangular niches filled with statues between them and resting on bases with sculptured Dionysiac reliefs. These formed the facade

and frame for an elegant central sanctuary lined on either side by two Corinthian columns and a pilaster. The central front doorway was left open with half pediments on either side of the entrance. The central passageway was vaulted over, under a pediment. Above the columns at the front and on the sides of the shrine was an entablature elaborately decorated. To the north and south of the front free-standing columns of the shrine, at about half their height was an arch on composite capitals. Under that at the north was the entrance to the crypt. At the west end of the shrine, reminding one of the choir or the sanctuary of the Early Christian church, was the holy of holies, the climax of the interior cella, where Dionysiac mysteries were perhaps celebrated. Here undoubtedly was the lost cult statue of Bacchus.

Fyfe says, "As a complete architectural monument, consistent in its plan, concept, and the purposefulness of its treatment, it has no peer in the whole field of late classical expression; being, in addition, of major size, lavishly decorated, and in a better state of preservation than any other example . . . The retention of major scale by the two main supports at the sanctuary end, which harmonize with the flanking order, was a master-touch. Nothing could be more admirable than the general sense of scale which is maintained throughout by this means, by the great doorway, and by the exterior peristyle treatment."

There is not space to discuss the subways on the north and south which led to subterranean vaulted rooms, which were used as shops or for other purposes. Nor can the church of St. John, which was transformed into an interesting mosque near what remains of a Roman theater, be discussed, but as wine, women, and song were prevalent at Baalbek in the land of grapes and wine, let us turn to Venus.

Temple of Venus (Pages 54 and 55)

About three hundred yards east of the acropolis, near the modern village, is a delightful, unique little round temple, a type rare in Syria. Because many Roman round temples were dedicated to Vesta or Fortune, such names were assigned to this, but inscriptions and coins of Philip the Arab on which probably it is represented, seem to prove that it was the temple of Venus, the goddess of love. Later it was transformed into a Christian chapel, dedicated to Saint Barbara, and many crosses are still seen on its interior walls. The original temple some date as early as 100 A.D., but its style of architecture and decoration, influenced by the Temple of Bacchus, points rather to about 245 A.D. Possibly as Weigand (not Wiegand) believes, part of the decorations date from the second century A.D. The temple rests on a podium nine and a half feet high. Steps on the north ascend to the pretty peristyle of five semicircles, each with two unfluted Corinthian columns surmounted by concave architrave, frieze, and cornice abundantly ornamented. The entrance-porch to the cella (*Page 55*) or prostyle pronaos, is rectangular, wider than the cella itself. It has two rows of four columns each, the central intercolumniation made wider and perhaps originally covered by an arch. The outer row crosses the whole width of the podium including the bastions built out on either side of the stairway. Of the inner row, the two middle ones are attached to the circular wall to help form the antae of a narrow vestibule in front of the door in the north straight wall. There are four other free-standing Corinthian columns with five-sided capitals around the circular cella. Their well-preserved entablature of horizontal arches takes the form of five concave loops or hemicycles. Only the central section rests on the wall of the cella so that the thrust of the dome was also counteracted by the weight being partially trans-

ferred in this way to the outer columns. On the outside of the cella wall, which is less than four feet thick, are cut five deep semicircular arched niches with Corinthian pilasters at the sides; they correspond to the five outer hemicycles. Above these niches (*Page 56*) at the top of the cella wall, under the architrave, there are carved in relief beautiful hanging festoons which connect the Corinthian capitals of the engaged pilasters. The paneled soffits of the underside of the architraves associate themselves also with the Corinthian capitals, so that the building has a real festal look. Above the architrave was a most delicately carved projecting cornice with exquisite decoration. The cella, entered by a door of which the architrave was two feet, four inches wide, was about twenty-nine feet in diameter. It has the form of a horse-shoe, five eighths of a circle with a door in the straight cut-off niche with pediments. It probably had interior pilasters against the wall and a dome built entirely of stone, a rare feature in Roman architecture, this temple being the best example. The dome has fallen, and an exact reconstruction of the interior is impossible. This charming little temple boldly defies convention. It is almost baroque and must have required great skill and thought on the part of the architect. Fyfe says: "The unique and most impressive pseudo-circular temple at Baalbek is valuable as showing a straining of order use which outdoes the most advanced treatments of the Renaissance and yet retains freshness and interest . . . It is simple and charming, and the number of free-standing columns give the feeling of airiness and grace that was attained in some of the garden buildings of the Renaissance."

The residential section of Baalbek has not been excavated, and so we have only the acropolis and sacred sanctuaries. But, as we have seen, Baalbek has great monuments: propylaea, a hexagonal court, a court of the altar, temples of Jupiter, Bacchus, and Venus

which are the equals in beauty of any elsewhere. But the most astounding feature is the ingenious and brilliant planning of the citadel. No finer achievement in axial planning was made in antiquity. Baalbek stands out as one of the grandest citadel-sites, like the Athenian acropolis, the Kremlin of Moscow, and the Alhambra at Granada. In the case of Palmyra, we turn from a citadel-site to a caravan city, and it will be possible to study the civic life of the people—the caravanserai and colonnaded streets—as well as their religion and temples.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF BAALBEK









ENTRANCE TO THE TUNNEL

















CORNICE FRAGMENT OF TEMPLE OF JUPITER













TEMPLE OF BACCHUS





TEMPLE OF BACCHUS, SOUTH SIDE, LEANING COLUMN

















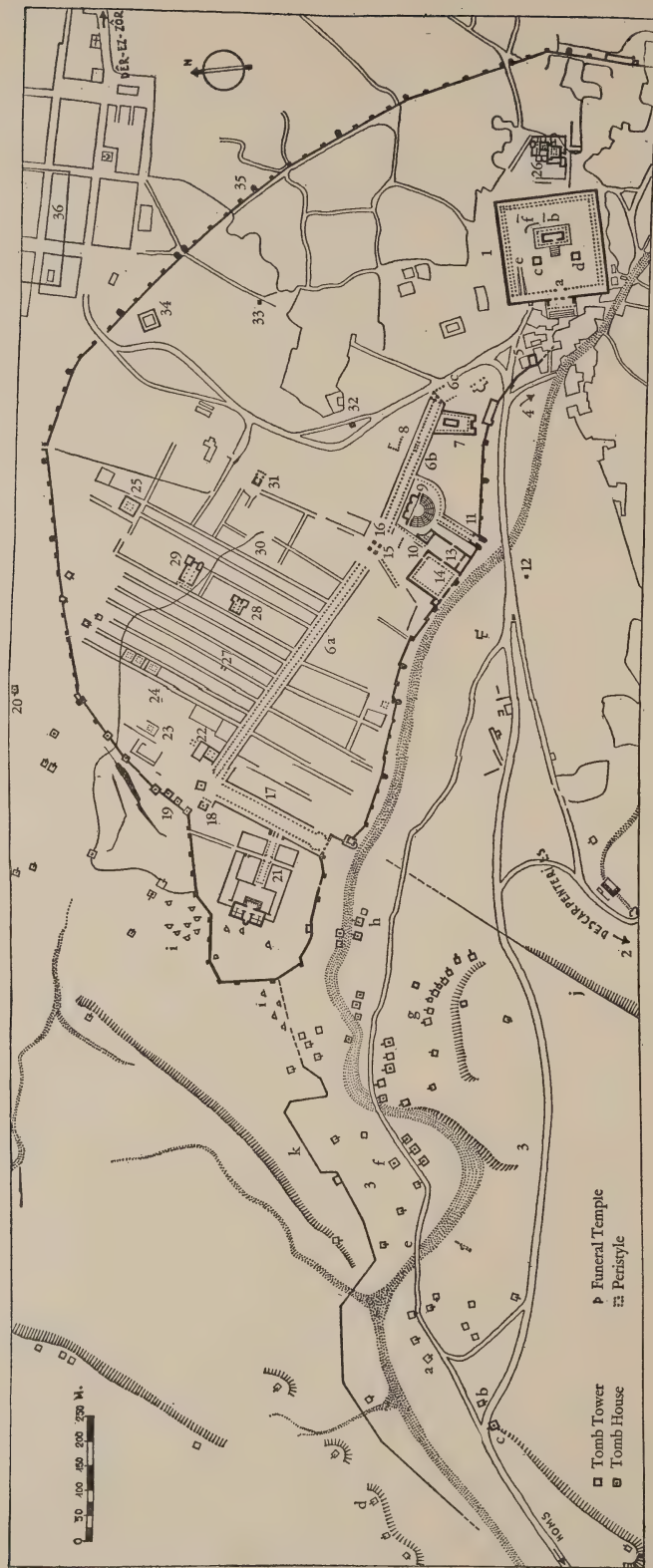
TEMPLE OF VENUS, ENTRANCE





PALMYRA, THE TYPICAL CARAVAN
CITY OF THE DESERT

PLAN OF PALMYRA



1 Temple of Bel: a High portico and Propylaea b Cella c Sacrificial altar d Sacrificial basin e Ramp f Surrounding fortress wall
 2 Southwest Necropolis 3 Valley of Tombs: a Tomb of Elahbél b Tomb of Atenatan c Tomb-house d Archaic tombs e Tomb of Yarhai f Tomb-house g Tomb of Jamblie h Tomb of Ailami and Zebida i Subterranean cellar j Ancient surrounding fortress wall k Aqueduct
 4 Southeast Necropolis 5 Museum 6 a b c Great Colonnade 7 Temple 8 Baths of Diocletian 9 Theater 10 Senate 11 Transverse Colonnade

12 Column of Honor 13 Temple or Market 14 Agora 15 Tetrappyle
 16 Inscription of Zenobia 17 Transverse Colonnade 18 Funeral Temple
 19 Tomb-houses 20 Tomb-house 21 Camp of Diocletian 22 Public or private building 23 Peristyle House 24 Peristyle House 25 Rhodian Peristyle House 26 House to the East of the Temple 27 Jewish House 28 Christian Basilica 29 Christian Basilica 30 Omayyade wall
 31 Temple of Belshamin 32 Spring of the Harem 33 Column of Honor 34 Building with great court 35 Bastion of Justinian 36 Modern village

History

Palmyra, Palm City, now only a cluster of hovels with about three hundred Arabs, was once one of the most celebrated cities of Asia Minor. It is beautifully situated thirteen hundred feet above sea level in the Syro-Arabian desert, midway between the Mediterranean Sea and the Euphrates River, on the great trade routes to Persia from Phoenicia and from Egypt, Petra and Arabia. To the west is the mountain range of Djebel and Abyad, to the north

the Arabic fortress Kal'-at-ibn-Ma'n. Palmyra is one hundred fifty miles northeast of Damascus and one hundred ninety miles, or four days' journey, by camel from the Euphrates. Many years ago it took four days by horseback to go from Damascus to Palmyra, but now the journey is made in an automobile in six or seven hours and from Homs (Emessa) in five hours. In the Bible the name of the city was Tadmor, the name still used by the modern Arabs. An inscription of the time of Tiglath-Pileser (twelfth century B.C.) published by Dhorme in the *Revue Biblique* (XXXIII, 1924, pp. 106 ff.) mentions "Tadmor which is in the land of the Amurru." Tadmor is said in *II Chronicles*, VIII, 4, to have been built by Solomon, whose name is still one to conjure with in the modern region of Palmyra. "He built Tadmor in the wilderness and the store cities of Hamath." Solomon found the city supplied with water and forming a link between East and West. He fortified it and made it a secure outpost through which the wealth of India could be brought to his kingdom. Pliny speaks of Tadmor as "situated in the midst of an almost impassable desert and on the confines of two powerful and hostile kingdoms." We hear nothing further of the city till the time of the Roman Republic, when Appian (*Bellum Civile*, V, 9) says that in 42-41 B.C. it aroused the attention of Marc Antony who in 38 B.C. tried unsuccessfully to capture it. It must, however, throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods have been a flourishing trading post with inhabitants who spoke Arabic and wrote Aramaic.

The earliest Palmyrene inscription dates from 32 B.C. and mentions the dedication of the Temple of Bêl and Yarhibol. A few years later, in 9 B.C., an inscription published by Cooke, *A Text Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 141, shows that Palmyra with a mixture of Arabic, Aramaic, Greek and Roman elements, was already an important trading center between Rome and

Parthia on the route from Hama, Homs, Damascus and Aleppo to Persia, Iran and India. In Hellenistic times Seleucia, excavated recently by the University of Michigan, had been built on the Tigris and Dura-Europos, the frontier-fortress, founded by men from Olynthus and other parts of Macedonia (excavated by Yale University), had been erected on the Euphrates; but Palmyra, rising in the desert midway between the Euphrates and the rich fields and forests of Syria was transformed from a trading post to a splendid city and a grand religious center with the worship of the Sun and other deities. In the days of the Roman Empire, Palmyra became a greater caravan center than even Seleucia or Dura or Petra.

Reasons for Prosperity

The main reason for the prosperity of Palmyra was the splendid sulphur springs as well as the oasis. Probably the village grew up around one of these springs where there had been an early temple, but Palmyra did not establish much trade or commerce till Parthia became a great rival of Rome. The wealthy Roman Crassus met defeat there, and his decapitated head was used in a performance of Euripides' *Bacchae*. The story shows that the Parthians were not so uncivilized or uninventive or unrefined as historians have believed. Recent studies and finds have revealed the excellent qualities of Parthian art, and much Greek influence.

Marc Antony was unable to conquer the Parthians in 38 B.C., from which time on, the Romans realized that they could not conquer Parthia, but the Parthians also realized on their side that the Romans would never yield Syria to them. Palmyra prospered as the go-between and became a neutral city wherein goods of China, India and Parthia, such as silks, jewels, pearls, and perfumes, and the products of Rome could be interchanged. Recent excavations have discovered beautifully embroidered brown and red and purple

taffetas of China silk with a variety of types previously unknown. One tunic is the first specimen of the type which later influenced the styles of Egypt and served as a model for Byzantium. The textiles date from the first and second centuries A.D., and while textiles have been found at Dura, the Palmyrene silks of China are the first found in the Near East, the first evidence in the West for importation from the China of the Han Dynasty. They, however, do not compare with the magnificent tunics represented on the funeral busts dating from the beginning of the third century such as that in the Metropolitan Museum representing Zabdibol with his son Mokimu and his two daughters, Tadmoran and Alliyat standing behind him (*see Page 93*). These textiles of Palmyra discovered by the Service of Antiquities of the French Republic in the necropolis of Palmyra have now been published with illustrations by R. Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre* (Paris, 1934-1940). Many of the recently found textiles are of Hellenistic linen, but among the woolen fragments are the "gobelins" which consist of striped materials with a highly stylized floral decoration. The linen was evidently also used for embalming and covering the mummies. The woolen textiles have figures of an Oriental character, and the silk ones have geometric patterns and fantastic animals which point to China. They were made on a loom which was at that time known only in China.

Both Parthia and Rome guaranteed Palmyra liberty, and this led, as Rostovtzeff (*Caravan Cities*, Oxford, 1932, p. 103) says "to the amazing rapid development of Palmyra into one of the wealthiest, most luxurious, and most elegant towns in Syria. One would almost imagine that she had sprung from the desert sands at the wave of a magic wand, so rapidly was the old and apparently small and unpretentious temple of the village of Tadmor transformed. Already at the time of Augustus and Tiberius it was one

of the most important sanctuaries of Syria, which could vie in magnificence with any of the temple groups in that province."

The old caravan road, which had passed through Tadmor, became the main axis of the city from southeast to northwest, one of the grandest avenues in all Syria, like that in Gerasa, or the street that was straight in Damascus. It started from the Triumphal Arch near the Temple of the Sun and was about 1240 yards long. It was lined originally with more than three hundred and seventy-five columns of rosy-white limestone, fifty-five feet high (about 150 still standing). On these columns were projecting brackets on which were placed statues by the Council and People of merchants and others who had helped the city's trade. Beautiful houses, many showing the influence of Macedonian Olynthus (such as that illustrated and published in *Syria*, VII, 1926, pp. 84-87) were built near the springs, where previously there was a desert. Balconies opened on the main road, from which the inhabitants could watch the caravans passing to or from the agora with its busy commercial and political life. At the same period the monumental tombs begin to appear, the oldest sepulchral inscription dating from 9 B.C. Although the recently discovered earliest Palmyrene inscription dates back to 32 B.C., it refers to the Temple of Bêl, and not to a tomb.

Palmyra had no difficulties in maintaining her commerce and political prominence even though she probably admitted the suzerainty of Rome. Decrees, however, issued by Germanicus c. 17-19 A.D. and by Cnaeus Domitius Corbulo about custom-dues and tariffs, show the favors granted by Rome and how independent Palmyra was. Palmyra became even more splendid after the fall of Petra in 105 A.D. left her without a real competitor. But the Roman emperor Trajan threatened to put an end to her independence when he took Mesopotamia from the Parthians and made it

a Roman province. Trajan probably was the first to occupy Palmyra with a garrison, and even so she had her own police force and militia for the protection of her caravans and caravanserais, of her roads and wells. But Mesopotamia did not continue long to be a Roman province. Insurrections kept breaking out, and after Trajan's death, Hadrian reversed the Roman policy in Asia Minor. He restored Mesopotamia to the Parthians, and Palmyra again was undisturbed. Hadrian restored many of the buildings and became the new founder of Palmyra, calling the city in 129 A.D. Hadriana Palmyra, or Hadrianopolis. The citizens expressed their gratitude by assuming the name "Hadrian's Palmyrenes." Tariffs were collected by the Palmyrene Council itself and not by Rome. However, Palmyra became Hellenized, erected many buildings, hundreds of columns on the main avenue, and temples, and most of the tomb-towers still standing. Palmyra had her own strategos, secretary, guardian of wills, president of banquets of Bêl, her own chief of the market, as inscriptions published by Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 114-122, show. Often these men were honored with glorious and highly ornate tomb-towers, houses of eternity for the man and his children and his children's children, such as still lie outside the city on heights overlooking it. They are often adorned with inscriptions and sculptured portraits.

Many accepted Roman citizenship and added to their Semitic names Roman family-names. Hadrian in 137 A.D. cancelled the loose system of Greco-Palmyrene fiscal taxation and introduced new tariff laws. A long inscription still on its original site, published by Cooke, *North Syrian Inscriptions* (pp. 310-340), gives a complete picture of Palmyrene politics at this time. The government was vested in the Council and the people, administered by civil officers with Greek titles such as proedros (president), grammateus (secretary), archon, syndics, and dekaprotoi (board of

ten men). Tariffs were fixed by the Council without the intervention of Roman authority, though Roman law influenced that of Palmyra. It was probably not till the reign of Marcus Aurelius (160-180 A.D.) that Palmyra, as recent inscriptions show, received Roman legions, which Palmyra supplied with cavalry of mounted archers, who became so famous all over the Roman world, even in Spain and Britain. Palmyra now not only traded with Rome and Parthia but sent her middlemen and commercial agents to Babylon, Vologesia, Forath and even to Spasinu Charax. They now sent goods to the west beyond Damascus, to Petra and Egypt, and even north to Dacia (Rumania), and west to Gaul and Spain.

Palmyra became the financial capital of the Eastern World and could build great monuments. It was not till the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.) that Palmyra received the *jus italicum* and the status of a Roman colony with a popularly elected senate and executive officers called strategoi (—duumviri). But there were no irksome restrictions, and custom-dues were collected for the district and not for the Roman empire. Many Palmyrenes, as I have said, added to their own native Semitic names Roman names, especially that of Septimius or Julius Aurelius or Caracalla Aurelius. Many were admitted to the Roman aristocracy. The aristocratic Palmyrene capitalists and influential organizers of the caravans, who constituted the prominent families, became Roman citizens. The Romans tried to use Palmyra as a center of action against the Parthians, but this was frustrated by the dynasty of the Sassanids. The family of the Julii Aurelii Septimii became especially powerful. In 230-231 A.D. Septimius Odaenathus, a member of that family, had the title of senator conferred on him by the emperor Alexander Severus when he visited Palmyra. His son, Septimius Odaenathus Hairan, received the title of Ras Tadmor (Chief of Tadmor). In 238 A.D. his son, Septimius Odaenathus, received

from Emperor Gallienus even the titles of imperator, restitutor totius orientis or corrector totius orientis and was called "king of kings." With the help of his wise wife, Zenobia, known for her remarkable mental and physical energy, he extended his authority all over Syria and the Roman Orient. The East was much disturbed by the advance of the Parthians. Palmyra, which had always been the buffer state, had to choose between Parthia and Rome. Momm-
sen, in *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, p. 93, says: "In every collision between the Romans and Parthians, the question was asked what policy the Palmyrans would pursue." So Palmyra chose to throw in her lot with Rome because she was more distant. When the emperor Valerian in 258 A.D. was passing through Palmyra, he raised Odaenathus to consular rank under the influence of the goldsmiths and silversmiths, who, as an inscription says, "used their influence in the elevation of Odaenathus, who intended to succeed whether the Roman or the Persian proved victorious." Shapur I of Persia was at the zenith of his power, and Odaenathus made overtures to him, and when rejected, threw his weight in favor of the Romans.

After long delay Valerian crossed the Euphrates in 260 A.D. and was decisively defeated and captured near Edessa. Shapur treated the captured emperor with cruelty. He had him flayed and his skin stuffed with straw and hung up in the temple. Shapur was finally defeated at Pompeiopolis on the coast of Cilicia and hurried back towards Tadmor (Palmyra). Odaenathus took the field with his best archers and spearmen and cavalry. He met Shapur before he crossed the Euphrates and won a great victory. Shapur fled, and Odaenathus captured the Persian king's treasure and remaining wives. But the victorious Odaenathus was soon opposed by a usurper, whom he routed in 261 A.D. at Emessa. Odaenathus was now independent lieutenant of the emperor of the East. Valerian

PALMYRA

was dead and his son Gallienus was too weak to carry on, and before long Odaenathus was declared Augustus by the Roman senate and received as a colleague. Coins were issued in the joint names of Odaenathus and Gallienus. Odaenathus acquired more and more power but was murdered by his own nephew Maconius at the height of his career, in 266 A.D. at Emessa. A statue was erected to him in A.D. 271 on one of the columns about the middle of the colonnade on the great avenue. The inscription says: "The statue of Septimius Odaenathus, king of kings, regretted by the whole state. The Septimii, Zabda, general-in-chief, and Zabal, General of Tadmor, their Excellencies, have erected it to their Lord, in the month of Ab 582 (—August, 271 A.D.)." Odaenathus was succeeded by his young son, Vaballath, under the regency of his mother, Bat Zabdai, known in Arabic as Zainab but generally called Zenobia.

Zenobia

Zenobia ruled in Palmyra and supervised the conquest of Egypt with seventy thousand troops and by 270 A.D. her son, Vaballath had created an empire comprising Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt. On his coins he is called imperator or dux Romanorum. In 271 A.D. the Roman emperor Aurelian turned his attention to Zenobia, the victorious queen of the East from the Euphrates to the Nile. She and her son had taken the title of Augusti, and, as time went on, the coins showed only her head on them and not that of the Roman emperor also. The cultured queen realized the danger. She had scholars like Longinus at her court and discussed matters of religion with Archbishop Paul of Samosata. She treated the Jews with much respect and in the Talmud was called the Protectress of Jewish Rabbis. She had now, however, to give up for the time her literary and artistic and religious interests. She called to arms all

the sons of the deserts, who swarmed to the rescue of the beautiful heroic queen. The final test came in 272 A.D., when Zenobia rode forth on her glorious charger to drive back the Roman army. As Dr. Wright (*An Account of Palmyra and Zenobia*, 1895, p. 145) says: "The plain was filled with her serried ranks. Her heavy cavalry, clothed in complete armor of steel, led the van, the light archers followed, and the infantry of all arms brought up the rear. Innumerable spearmen on fleet dromedaries were massed on the flanks of the Palmyra host, or tried to get on the flanks of the Roman army, with intent to cut their communications and turn their position. . . . Zenobia, armed like Diana, but beautiful as Venus, mounted on a splendid charger, rode down the front rank of her mighty army and gave the order to charge. The cavalry advanced with irresistible fury, and bore down everything before them. Aurelian, however, had placed his infantry out of reach of the cavalry, and held them in reserve, till the Orientals had exhausted themselves by chasing a light and flying foe." Zosimus, the Roman historian, gives the following account of Aurelian's strategy:

"Finding Zenobia with a great army ready prepared for battle, he met and engaged her. But seeing that the Palmyra cavalry confided very much in their armor, which was heavy, strong and secure, being also very much better horsemen than his soldiers, he placed his infantry somewhere beyond the river Orontes in a place by themselves, and commanded the cavalry not immediately to engage the victorious Palmyra cavalry, but to allow themselves to be attacked, and pretend to fly, and continue to do so, till the Palmyrans and their horses should be thoroughly tired, through the excessive heat and weight of their armor."

Aurelian's ruse succeeded. As soon as the Roman cavalry saw that their enemies were tired by their great exertions, and that

their horses were scarcely able to stand under them, they stopped in their feigned flight, turned on their pursuers, and trampled them under their feet. By which means the slaughter of the Palmyra cavalry was promiscuous, some being killed by the sword, and others crushed to death by the Roman horses. After much further fighting Zenobia finally retreated to Palmyra. Aurelian and the Romans besieged the city with all vigor. Zenobia resisted valiantly and in the Spring of 272 A.D. was still holding out, when Aurelian wrote a letter to Zenobia:

“Aurelian, Emperor of the Roman world, Receptor Orientis, to Zenobia and the others united together in hostile alliance. You ought to do that of your own accord which is commended by my letters. I charge you to surrender on your lives being spared. And you, O Zenobia, may pass your life in some spot where I shall place you in pursuance of the distinguished sentence of the Senate; your gems, your silver, gold, silk, horses, camels, being given up to the Roman Treasury. The laws and institutions of the Palmyrans shall be respected.”

Zenobia replied as follows:

“Zenobia, Queen of the East, to Aurelian Augustus. No one, as yet, except thee, has dared to ask what thou demandest. Whatever is to be achieved by war must be sought by valor. Thou askest me to surrender, as if thou wert ignorant that Queen Cleopatra chose rather to perish than to survive her dignity. The Persian auxiliaries whom we await cannot be far off; the Saracens are on our side, as well as the Armenians. The Syrian robbers, O Aurelian, have conquered your army: what then if that band which we expect on all sides shall come? You will then lay aside the superciliousness with which you now demand my surrender, as if you were victor on every side.”

Zenobia resolved that she would go to Persia for aid. She

mounted a swift she-camel and hoped to reach the Euphrates in five days and there cross the river. She hurried day and night without much sleep and could see the river and had almost arrived when in the last half hour a cloud of dust gained on her. It was the Romans. She slipped swiftly from her camel, ran like a gazelle, and sprang into a boat, but the boat was stalled and could not get started. The Romans arrived on their swift steeds and seized her, just as the boat was starting. Zenobia was taken back to Palmyra by her captors. Aurelian was hurrying back to Rome with Zenobia and the spoils, when the Palmyrans revolted and slew the Roman garrison. Aurelian returned, slaughtered the citizens and officials, including Zenobia's prime-minister, the celebrated scholar Longinus. He sacked the palaces and temples, though he restored the Temple of the Sun (273 A.D.), and tried to unite all Palmyrene cults in that of the supreme deity, the Sun. The city never recovered. Aurelian set out for Rome again, but in crossing the Bosphorus all the captives except Zenobia and her two sons were drowned. On his return to Rome, he had a great triumphal procession. Aurelian rode in a beautiful chariot drawn by four stags. Twenty elephants, two hundred wild animals including tigers and eight hundred gladiators marched with the spoils of Palmyra, including the chariot of Odaenathus studded with precious gems. But most conspicuous was Zenobia herself. Every window and roof was crowded with those who wanted a glimpse of the proud Queen of the East who had dared defy Rome and had built a chariot in which she intended to enter Rome as a conqueror. She was walking in front of her chariot, her hands and neck bound with golden chains and golden rings about her ankles. Aurelian realized that he had treated the helpless queen in a way her greatness and rank hardly deserved, as the following statement of his shows:

"I hear, O conscript fathers, that it has been urged against me

that I have not accomplished a manly task, in triumphing over Zenobia. My accusers would not know how to praise me enough, if they knew that woman,—if they knew her prudence in council, her firmness in purpose, the dignity she preserves towards her army, her munificence when necessity requires it, her severity when to be severe is just. I may say that the victory of Odaenathus over the Persians, and his putting Shapur to flight and reaching Ctesiphon, were due to her. I can assert that such was the dread entertained of this woman, among the natives of the East and of Egypt, that she kept in check the Arabians, the Saracens, and the Armenians.”

The story is told by Zosimus that Zenobia, mourning over the fate of her caravan kingdom, went on a hunger strike and finally died from starvation and a broken heart. Others say that she lived the life of a retired matron at Tivoli. Thus ended Zenobia's great caravan kingdom which had at one time comprised all Syria, Asia Minor, and even Egypt. Rome recovered her prestige and power, while Palmyra crumbled away.

Later History

Palmyra was partially revived by Diocletian toward the end of the third century A.D. Christianity got a foothold there, as attested by the remains of at least two churches (one 148 feet by 88 feet), and among the fathers who went to the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.) was Marinus, Bishop of Palmyra. *Ca.* 410 A.D. an Illyrian Roman legion was stationed there, and in 527 Justinian built an aqueduct and walls, parts of which are still standing. Later, in the seventh century, came the Moslem conquest, and under Khalid-ibn-al-Walid, Tadmor became a Moslem fortress and received an Arab colony. It is often mentioned in Arabic literature, especially in the poems of Nabigha and Yaqut. In the eighth cen-

ture under the last khalif the walls were razed and many monuments destroyed. In the eleventh century an earthquake almost annihilated the city, but in the twelfth, some two thousand Jews settled there, and it prospered again. In the fourteenth century we hear of its wealthy merchants, but after that it rapidly sank to a mere group of a few hovels in the courtyard of the Temple of the Sun. Natives, antiquity-hunters, and tourists have been despoiling Palmyra for ages. Her statues and busts and inscriptions have been scattered to the four corners of the globe and are to be found in most of the world's great museums; but now the Arabs have been moved outside the ruins; new laws protect them from desecration; and systematic excavations and restorations have been carried on since 1926.

Archaeology and Monuments

As Rostovtzeff (*Caravan Cities*, p. 120) says: "The ruins of Palmyra and Petra are undoubtedly among the most romantic relics of the ancient world; nowhere are there ruins which can compare with them; there is an exotic savour about them which we find nowhere else. Those wonderful tomb-facades which stand out against a background of coloured rocks in the fantastic Petraean valleys cannot fail to stamp their memory forever on the mind of every visitor who sees them, and Palmyra evokes sensations no less vivid and no less romantic." Every traveller who makes the journey to Palmyra must have felt the same thrill and spell of that enchantment which I did when after crossing the desert I suddenly saw the tomb-towers in the distance, detaching themselves from the "smoke-like film of wind-blown sand," until at last the columns and arches stood clear-cut before me against the grey-gold background of the desert.

History of the Excavations

These romantic ruins were first made definitely known in detail in the period when the reaction of romanticism was starting its revolt against classicism. The first notice of Palmyra was due to English merchants who visited it from Aleppo in 1678 and in 1691. In 1693 Hofsted made an oil painting of the ruins which is now in Amsterdam, and in 1695-97, William Halifax published drawings and a diary in *The Philosophical Transactions*. In 1710 Cornelius Loos made designs of Palmyra for his king, Charles XII of Sweden, when he was imprisoned by the Turks at Bender. Some of these drawings were lost in the war between the Swedes and the Turks. Those preserved are at the University of Upsala. Rostovtzeff illustrates one in his book on *Caravan Cities*, Pl. XVI, 1.

The first scientific publication of Palmyra was by the Englishman R. Wood in 1753. He had visited Palmyra with the wealthy Dawkins, whose help he often acknowledges. He published the elaborate big folio volume, beautifully bound and printed on thick, strong paper, called "The Ruins of Palmyra otherwise Tedmor in the Desart" or "An Enquiry into the Ancient State of Palmyra" (on the outside the title is "Ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec," London, 1753-1757). The splendid volume is illustrated with exquisite plates and detailed drawings. This book was the first really scientific publication of Palmyra, and it has remained a classic ever since it gave to St. Petersburg, through the French friends of Catherine the Great who compared her to Zenobia, the name of "The Northern Palmyra." The Russian Prince Abamelek Lazarev, with the help of Latychev, the Marquis de Vogué and of Professor Dessau of Berlin, published a book on Palmyra, which is especially interesting for the long text about Palmyrene tariffs which he discovered in 1882, now in the Hermitage Museum in

Leningrad. Two other Russians, Uspensky and Pharmakovsky, published the frescoes from the so-called Tomb of Zenobia. Another expedition was made by two Dominicans of Jerusalem, Fathers Jaussen and Savignac. Their report is published in the *Revue Biblique*, XXIX, 1920, pp. 359-419. For the last twenty years the French Academy of Inscriptions and the French officials of the Syrian mandate, under the direction first of Professor A. Gabriel and later of Henri Seyrig, have been excavating since May 20, 1925, at Palmyra, despite risks and even the shooting of one of the staff by Bedouins.

Expert architects have restored many of the ruins, especially the triple arch of triumph. The work is under the guidance of Henri Seyrig. Every archaeologist awaits with keen interest the final French publication of the New Excavations, which will supplement if not entirely replace Wood's wonderful work cited above. Meanwhile I can give a summary description of the main buildings.

Excavation and Restoration

Most of the excavations have been within the walls of Justinian in an area a mile and a half long by five eighths of a mile wide. Here is a forest of many buildings and columns, built with either hard limestone brought from a quarry $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the north or with soft stone from a quarry $\frac{3}{4}$ miles west of the Arabic fortress. This last shows quarrying to a depth of 15 meters over an area of 600 meters. Page 94 shows a panorama view from the mortuary temple of which six columns and an anta, in the left foreground remain. Page 96 shows a panorama view across the valley of the tombs and many plain modest mounds beyond which are hypogean tombs carved in the rock and beautifully decorated. Though the modern visitor in coming from Damascus first passes through the

city of the dead, the splendid necropolis with its elegant tomb-towers and porticoed temples, which rises in front of the city of the living as a real rival to it, I shall describe first some of the structures in the city of the living. As has been said above, the pride of Palmyra was its long colonnaded avenue, which constituted the main artery of traffic for the merchants and their caravans, "a very spine, without which the city could not live," as Rostovtzeff puts it. All caravan roads converge into this single street, with arches designating the crossroads. I have already spoken of the pedestals on these rosy-colored columns on which were placed statues or busts of the merchants who had shown their devotion and brought prosperity to Palmyra. They testify to the Palmyrene love of statues acquired from the Greeks and to the intense municipal life of the merchants and their desire to be glorified. Nearly a hundred and fifty are still standing, making one of the grandest, most graceful, and most imposing avenues anywhere in the world. I am especially fond of the long colonnaded avenue at Jerash, but the Palmyrene avenue (11 meters wide and 1100 meters long) is more impressive. It does not run straight and is divided into three rectilinear sections, forming a broken line from its start at the Propylaea of the Temple of Bêl, through the Monumental Arch, and past the Tetracylon to the first Funerary Temple, and on to the foot of the hills at the west. At the west branched off at right angles to the south an avenue bordered with porticoes, 210 m long and 20 m wide between the columns on either side. This road ended at a spot where there was a peribolos or peristyle circle of columns (*Pages 102, 103*). To the north between the funerary temple and the Tetracylon were six insulae or blocks separated by streets (4.30 m wide). Some of these blocks were 53 m long, others 27.5 m, and contained houses which would vie with those of Olynthus, Priene, and Delos. One is almost a

palace and has a Rhodian peristyle (one row of columns higher than the others). Between the Tetrapylon and the arch were, a little off the avenue, the agora, a caravanserai, a theater with a colonnade around it, and temples. The avenue turned obliquely to the west from the road from the Temple of Bêl. Where there was the sharpest bend in the avenue, a beautiful triple arch was erected to conceal the turn. Rostovtzeff calls it "a veritable marvel of illusionary architecture" (*Page 98*). This change in direction must have been determined by the main temple. Where there were the columns of the peribolos, a temple must have stood from early days. Such a sacred structure could not be moved to accommodate commercial caravans. So the caravan route was built obliquely, but between the arch and the temple, it must have been a kind of sacred way like the Sacred Road to Eleusis or those leading up to temples of Babylon and Egypt. Near this section of the sacred street is an exedra (*see Page 98*) where persons could sit and view the sacred and secular processions. The arch was at one end and the Temple of Bêl at the other.

Triple Arch (Page 100)

This monumental arch was part of a great complex structure and one of the most interesting ever erected. It is, as has been said, a marvel of architecture erected without clamps or mortar. It has stood through the ages despite earthquakes. There was a high central arch, with the tremendous thrust to either side counter-balanced by piers, columns, and a smaller arch. That at the south (*left of Page 100*) is perfectly preserved except for the upper part, or attic, which has been restored recently since the photograph reproduced on Page 100 was taken. Recent excavations have found many blocks which had fallen from the arches, and it has been possible also to restore completely the arch at the north. Page 101

shows the replacement of the central keystone over the high central arch. This had fallen, but with endless labor and by erecting within the round arch a wooden frame fitting the voussoirs with a movable central section which could be gradually raised, the heavy central keystone was finally put back in its original place. An elaborate account of this and the restoration of the small arches with beautiful drawings and photographs is given by Robert Amy, who was assisted by the architect, M. F. Anus, in *Syria*, XIV, 1933, pp. 396-411. The final French publication, of course, will have a volume on this arch and its construction. Here, suffice it to say, to the west of the central arch was a row of Corinthian columns as seen on Page 100, and to the east has now been reconstructed on either side of the central arch a wall with a smaller arch. On the road approaching from the southeast from the Temple of Bêl another large complete arch has been reerected (these were in front of the arch as seen on Page 100 and are not shown in the photograph, but cf. *Syria*, XIV, 1933, p. 407, Plate XLII). The complicated and ingenious plan reminds one of the letter V with the main triple arch at the base and the branches the two roads which converged at the main arch. But it is unusual to have so many arches (six preserved) in one structure.

Temple of Bêl

Inside a square court, encircled by walls crowned with parapets so as to look like a fortress, was placed a temple oriented sideways toward the Propylaea. This was related to the main avenue, which had its direction changed so as to lead to the Temple, and a door was put in the side of the temple facing the single wide walk. The other three sides of the court have two rows of columns. This temple was the most important and best edifice in Palmyra, what Fyfe calls "the grandest classical monument in Syria." It was a

large Temple of Bêl, which has now been completely cleared and excavated by the French under the direction of Henri Seyrig (*Pages 109-116*). It was built substantially as it is now, perhaps as early as 39 B.C., and an inscription of 10 A.D. mentions it. Robertson dates it too late, about 1 A.D. The narrow cella with three exterior windows on each side, had the characteristic oblong form and was divided into three unequal sections, devoted to the worship of the Palmyrene trinity Bêl, Yarhibol, and Aglibôl. As Fyfe says, there is here an architectural set-piece full of subtle intention, "a true prototype of the altar-setting in the Christian church." Bêl was called Zeus in Greek and was supreme. The other gods were non-Babylonian gods of the Sun and of the Moon respectively, who in all probability belonged to a local Palmyrene triad. They are often represented in Palmyrene sculptures and paintings and on tesserae, sometimes with a fourth or fifth divinity added. On tesserae appears also the caravan god of Arab origin, Arsu, riding a camel or standing beside it or even as a camel himself. The original temple of strange and asymmetric construction is well preserved, with its high side walls decorated with doors and attached pilasters (*Page 109*). It was pseudo-dipteral octastyle with fifteen columns on the sides and eight at the ends. It had a long prostyle pronaos and a beautiful deep opisthodomus. The Temple was about a hundred feet wide on the top step. The cella interior (*Page 115*) which replaced that of an earlier Syro-Babylonian temple, and the peribolos, the colonnade (*Page 112*) of slender Corinthian columns, have existed from the time of the original building, but the court was enlarged in the second century A.D. Soon after the building of the temple, the pronaos and opisthodomus were walled up and a grand massive entrance-portal cut in the east wall of the cella. This entrance is not, however, in the center, and is badly attached, but it is on the axis of the Propylaea.

A column of the colonnade was removed, and engaged columns against pilasters were built on either side of this opening to make possible a grand outer doorway. The frame of the door, with ornament showing oriental influence, has a sculptured pediment (see *Page 116*) which is reminiscent of the Dura frescoes. Pages 118 and 119 give a good idea of the rinceau pattern with branches and fruits and palmettes, above which is a leaf and dart ornament. Above this is the astragal or bead and reel below a row of Palmyrene warriors with spear and shield. Of the colonnade which surrounded the cella, many fine columns are standing with architrave and cornice, but the gilt bronze capitals have disappeared. Inside the colonnade was another peculiar feature, the high slabs, beautifully carved and ornamented, of the architrave which bridge over the space between the columns and the cella walls. The beams had raking tops, causing a slant to the ceiling. The peculiar form and architecture of the temple is due to a strange amalgamation of Babylonian and Greek elements, but this mixture of Oriental and Greek with native Palmyrene art is seen in most of these romantic relics. This is what makes Palmyra so fascinating. It is unique in the history of architecture and art. The Temple of Bêl probably served not only as the religious center and place of refuge but as a fortress for the merchants and the caravans against attacking nomad Bedouins.

Temple of Bêl-shamin (Page 108)

A third great edifice at Palmyra was the non-peripteral temple in the northern section dedicated to Bêl-shamin, the mighty rival of Bêl, each of which was a large enclosure and the Propylaea (built c. 21 A.D.). This next important temple is almost perfectly preserved, an elegant edifice, massive, monumental, and richly ornamented, one of Syria's most important temples. Fyfe says,

"There is a sturdy strength about it which commands attention." Some would date it even earlier than the Temple of Bêl, and trace its origin to 130 B.C., but it probably was begun in the first century A.D. It is of Greco-Roman style (amphi-prostyle) with a prostyle portico at the front of six Corinthian columns, four in front and another behind each corner column. The front columns have brackets for statues as those on the colonnaded street, but they are nearer the bottom and more monumental. The two middle ones are more widely spaced to give more room for the entrance, leading to the grand consoled portal. Its walls still have their architrave, frieze and cornice. The cella has a pedimental window on either side and pilasters around the interior. The excavations show that this temple was only a part of several buildings dedicated to Bêlshamin. There is also epigraphical and sculptural evidence that Palmyra had many other temples to other such divinities as the Syrian twins Hadad and Atargatis, to Ishtar, and to such caravan gods as Arsa and Oziza.

Theater or Assembly Place

A fourth important structure was the theater in the city's civic center, excavated by the French under the guidance of Professor Gabriel of Strasbourg. It probably was not only used for dramatic Parthian performances but, as the Theater of Dionysus in Athens, for popular and political assemblies, for deliberative bodies, for meetings of notables, of merchants, for religious festivals, dances, sacrifices, and other purposes. Here the tribal sheikhs, the rich merchants, the synodiarchs, undoubtedly met to vote such honors as are so often mentioned in the inscriptions.

Caravanseraï

A fifth important structure, as at Jerash, Petra, and elsewhere in the Orient was the typical caravanseraï which corresponds to the

modern Arabic or Turkish khan and is not so very different. It was an open space to the southwest of the theater next to the Justinian wall which encircled the city near a monumental tetrapylon. It was an open rectangular space just off the main avenue, surrounded by mighty walls, decorated with columns and statues, with a grand and monumental entrance preserved in the wall at one end and interior porticoes or exedrae. Many inscriptions found in the building praise the virtue and worth and devotion of the caravan leaders. Here the caravans put up for the night, quartering their camels in the open court. Here they bargained and made their business arrangements as in the modern khan. Probably also they washed up and made ready to enter the temple for religious consecration or to go to the theater for political or other discussions.

Agora

A sixth important section recently excavated and not yet finally published is the agora. It is a rectangle, eighty-two meters by seventy meters, bordered on all four sides with flat-roofed porticoes, about twelve meters high and eight meters wide, of eighty Corinthian columns. There were no propylaea but eleven open doorways in the walls as well as fountains and a well in the court and at the west corner an interesting and peculiar temple (fourteen by twelve meters) which had an opening of two columns between antae into the court. Against the wall was a base for the cult statue or relief, but the most interesting feature is the transformation of the temple into a banqueting hall for forty men by placing benches along the walls and closing the space between the entrance columns. Here took place such sacred banquets as we shall see were also prevalent in the tombs. This agora was probably built in the second century A.D., though some of the inscriptions on the columns date back to 76-81 A.D. Many inscriptions found here

name the caravans, which travelled to the Persian Gulf, to Spasinu-Charax and elsewhere, and call the square of the agora, the tetradion, and throw much light on Palmyrene commerce.

The Tomb-towers and Temples (Pages 124-127)

I have already spoken of the magnificence of the excavated houses of the wealthy, which were really palaces, with beautiful peristyles, elaborate rooms, and fine works of sculpture and painting. The Palmyrenes worshipped the dead. They believed that they should rest in peace and be highly honoured. They sometimes embalmed the dead, and several mummies have been found. The Palmyrenes even after death were housed in the City of the Dead in the Valley of Tombs in beautiful towers or temples containing artistic treasures of great beauty and magnificence. There are three types of tombs, funerary towers, a type more highly developed at Palmyra than anywhere else in the world, such as the excavated, elaborate and complete tombs of Elahbel, Iamblichus, Aténatan, and a third of a mule driver, the Jamlishu, with a most effective external niche. Second, temples such as that at the west end of Main Street (*Page 105*). These are most sumptuous with their porticoes and decorated cellas. Third, there are great subterranean structures such as that of the Three Brothers or the Tomb of Dionysus with its mural decoration. One such mausoleum is Hellenistic with some oriental features. It takes the form of a Hellenistic house. It has thirty-eight cavities or compartments cut into the rock around the central peristyle of twelve columns. Here were placed the corpses in splendid sarcophagi (See *Syria*, VII, 1926, p. 91, Fig. 7). One of the best such hypogean mausoleums is that of Iarhai'son of Barekhi, son of Taimarso, excavated in the Valley of the Tombs on the right bank of the Wadi-es-Saraystir, some hundred and ten meters east of Tomb 19. It has an elaborate vesti-

bule oriented to the north, with a grand portal with a beautiful cornice to which one descends by seven stairs. From the door, ten stairs descend into the great hypogeum-tomb. The main longitudinal hall (14.05 m long by 3.60 m wide) is vaulted over, has ten compartments on one side, eight on the other, and another five open into a lateral exedra chamber, making twenty-three in all. A similar lateral chamber is on the other side, but no cavities were found there. The south exedra is the best preserved and has splendid sculptures representing men and women dressed in exquisite robes with beautiful designs and embroideries (showing Parthian and Persian influence). They are decked out with gorgeous jewels, some reclining with goblets in their hands, others sitting. Many fine Corinthian capitals, decorated architraves, cornices, and lamps were excavated, but especially important and interesting were the many beautiful busts and bas-reliefs and statuettes of aristocratic Palmyrenes, which filled the numerous niches of the west as well as the south exedrae. These busts are like those pictured on Pages 122 and 123 of Zabd-Athe, erected by his brother Wahba, and of Alliyyat, daughter of Zabdibol and of her father, Zabdibol, in the Metropolitan Museum, and hundreds of others, now in European, Oriental, and American museums. An inscription found in the south exedra puts the foundation of this funeral hypogeum in the year 108 A.D., the month of April. A bilingual, carefully cut inscription of August, 240 A.D., shows that the mausoleum was still intact and being used for additional burials. I translate part of the Greek: "The east wall with the roof of the vacant exedra, which is found on the right of those who enter the gate of the cave, up to the Parian marble Victory placed in a niche in the middle of the exedra at the other end, including the three sepulchres in the entablature above the Victory, and the sepulchres on the same side with all their ornament and all the rights thereunto

appertaining, Julius Aurelius Hairan and Julius Aurelius Malachas, both sons of Germanus, have ceded to Julius Aurelius Theophilus, son of Taimarso and grandson of Zebida, for him, and his sons and sons' sons and descendants for all time. In the year 552 in the month of Loos (= 240 A.D.)." Thirty years after this concession of the east wall to Theophilus came the destruction of Palmyra.

Many of the tombs have the form of a beautiful temple with a portico of columns as in that at the west end of Main Street with six Corinthian columns, architrave, frieze, cornice, and pediment and antae still standing (*Pages 94, 104, 105*). Others were rectangular high stone towers (*Pages 106, 124-127*), some seventy feet high and with a beautiful niche on one side giving a two-storied effect to the front. They were finished inside in excellent classical style with chambers with paintings and sculptures as in the tomb-temples and the hypogea. These towers suggest the Assyrian ziggurat and Egyptian pylon, but they also are forerunners of the Romanesque bell-towers of eleventh-century Italy. The Jamlishu tower, mentioned above, is the most interesting. It has a plain base with pedimented and consoled door on the ground floor, then four steps half way up the rectangular, vertical tower, a projecting pedimental beautiful framed window and a cornice at the top. These three types of tombs have their own peculiar architecture which is neither Greek nor Semitic. It is a great catastrophe that these tombs and the other buildings have been despoiled throughout the ages to furnish thousands of portrait busts of prominent Palmyrenes and bas-reliefs and statues for many museums. If we knew from which buildings these came, we could better reconstruct the political and social and religious life of Palmyra and even make a prosopographia of the Palmyrene aristocratic merchants.

Inscriptions and Tickets

Hundreds of inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and Palmyrene, many not yet published, have been unearthed at Palmyra. I have already cited several, but the clay tesserae or tablets with human and animal figures and inscriptions should be mentioned. Many such are already published in *Syria*. They evidently served as tickets for religious receptions and especially for post-mortal funeral banquets in the tombs (*see such sculptures as that on Page 93*) where the heroized dead were represented reclining on their fine couches and wearing beautiful dresses and a profusion of jewels. Most of the inscriptions are in Aramaic, but in the Palmyrene script. The majority of the names are Semitic, though often Hellenized or Latinized. The Jews were in the majority and four Jewish clans (especially those of Bene Komara and Bene Mattabol), though quarrelling often with one another, combined and controlled most of the positions, so much so that they were called in inscriptions "the people of the Palmyrenes." Other inscriptions throw much light on the priesthood, as do many busts of priests with tiaras on their heads, ornamented with the crowns of their gods. Some of these priests were symposiarchs and presided at the symposia. Much wine was drunk. One inscription tells how a special local old wine was used at a special banquet.

Religion and Art

It has already been stated that Bêl was the most important god, who with Yarhibol and Aglibôl formed a trinity worshipped in the temple of which the plates show many illustrations. For practical purposes Bêl was the supreme god, even the Sun-god like Bêl-Mardak of Babylon, though Malak-bêl, his messenger, was the real sun god of Palmyra, in whom the solar aspect is more promi-

nent than in Bêl himself. Zosimus (I, 61) distinguishes between statues of the Sun and of Bêl. Next to Bêl came the Syrian Bêlshamin, Bêl's rival; the Babylonian Shamash, Ishtar, Nanaia, and Nergal were also part of Palmyra's plethora of gods. There are also the Syrian Hadad and Atargatis and the Phoenician Eshmun; also the Arabian Sama, Allat, the warrior goddess, and Chaî al Qaum, an encratite; also the Arabian Arsu and the Syrian Azizu, patrons of Palmyrene caravan merchants, had temples. To the Palmyrene Pantheon should be added Satrapes of Iranian origin, who is represented in sculpture and on a tessera. These gods and others formed a syncretism of Parthian, Babylonian, Syrian, and Greek deities, but they were all given a definite independent Palmyrene character, which is different from the religion of any other ancient city; and which sent its agents all over the ancient world, even building "fondouqs" or commercial settlements (like the modern "compounds" in Shanghai and elsewhere), storehouses, caravanserais, and even altars and temples in Parthia, Egypt, Italy, and other foreign lands. For example, in the Capitoline Museum in Rome is a beautiful Palmyrene sculptured altar, probably of the third century A.D., which Professor Cumont interprets as representing the Sun rising, mounting the horizon, at midday, and the feeble Sun of the night.

Palmyra had all kinds of religious groups, natural groups and religious associations (thiasoi) or guilds. There was clan worship, and each gens had its own god or Tyche (Fortune) who is often represented on tesserae. The Palmyrenes were very religious and even worshipped the dead, as we have seen. They had all sorts of cults including that of the national gods of Tadmor. They had even attained the idea of a master of the world and a rewarder who gave a good reward to the just in the next world. They believed that their prayers were heard and that the gods bore witness to

those who had benefited the city. They were the only Semites who often invoked a deity without addressing him except by the vague epithet, the good or ever-blessed or "lord of the world" or "lord of all."

The Palmyrenes, most of whom were bilingual, writing Aramaic and Greek, were much influenced in their gorgeous robes, and rugs and jewels as seen in the bas-reliefs, by Parthia and Persia as well as by Greece and Rome. Their art is hardly Greek or Roman but local, influenced not merely by Babylonia and Assyria and Persia but by the Hittite art of Anatolia. As Rostovtzeff says, "The sculpture of Palmyra is the Hellenized offspring of Aramaean and Anatolian plastic art." The city of Palmyra had a unique and strange mixture of Iranian (as seen in the temples and houses and sculpture). Palmyra may prove to be the connecting link between Rome and Greece on the one hand, through Anatolia and Iran, and the Gandhara Hellenized art of India and even China, with influence on Byzantine, mediaeval, and modern civilization. No city of the ancient world is more famous. No city of the Near East has produced so many inscriptions, so much architecture, painting, and sculpture. No city is more peculiar.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF PALMYRA



TOMBSTONE OF ZABDIBOL, II-III CENTURY























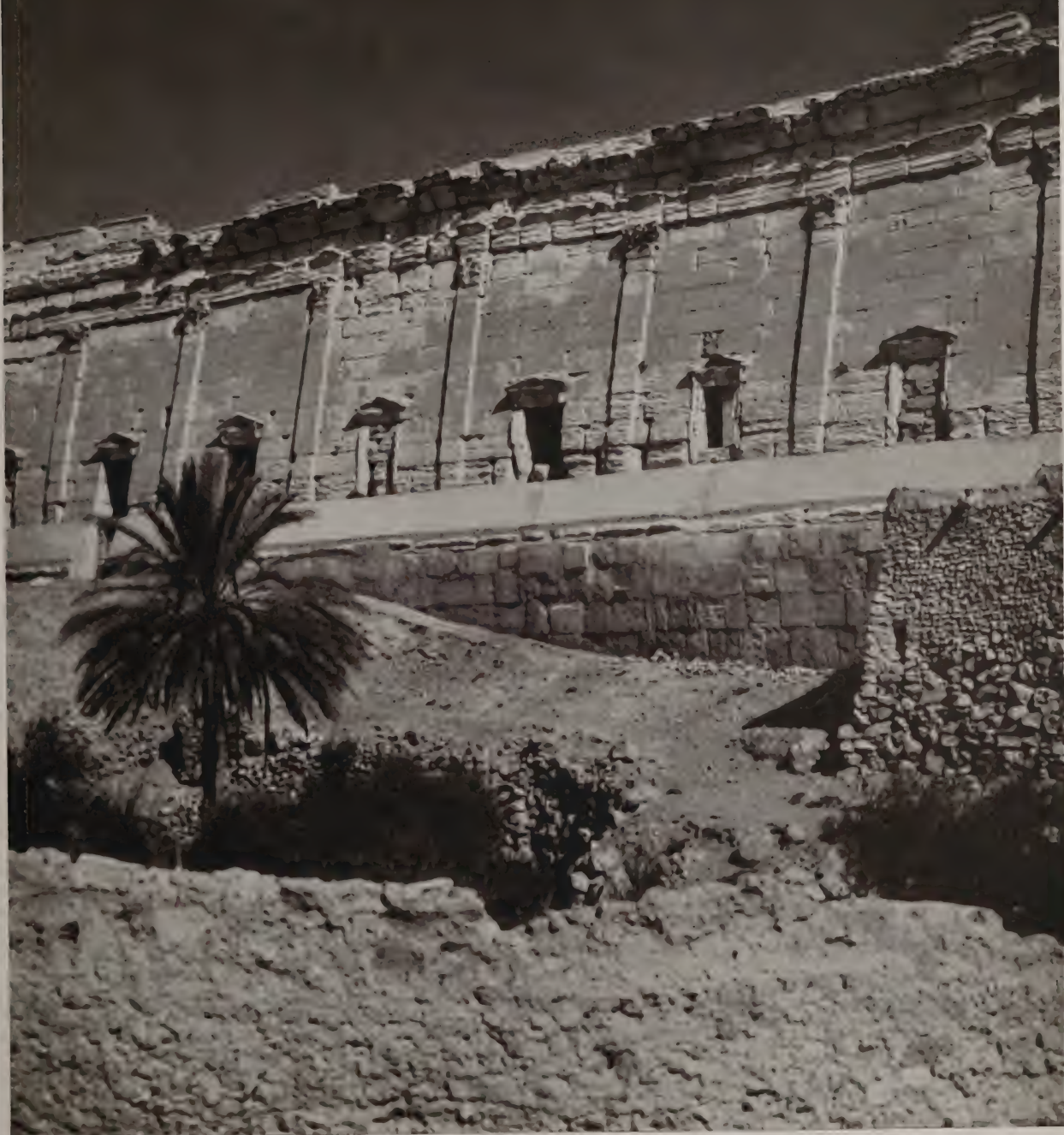


MORTUARY TEMPLE









WALL OF TEMPLE OF BÊL, SOUTH SIDE





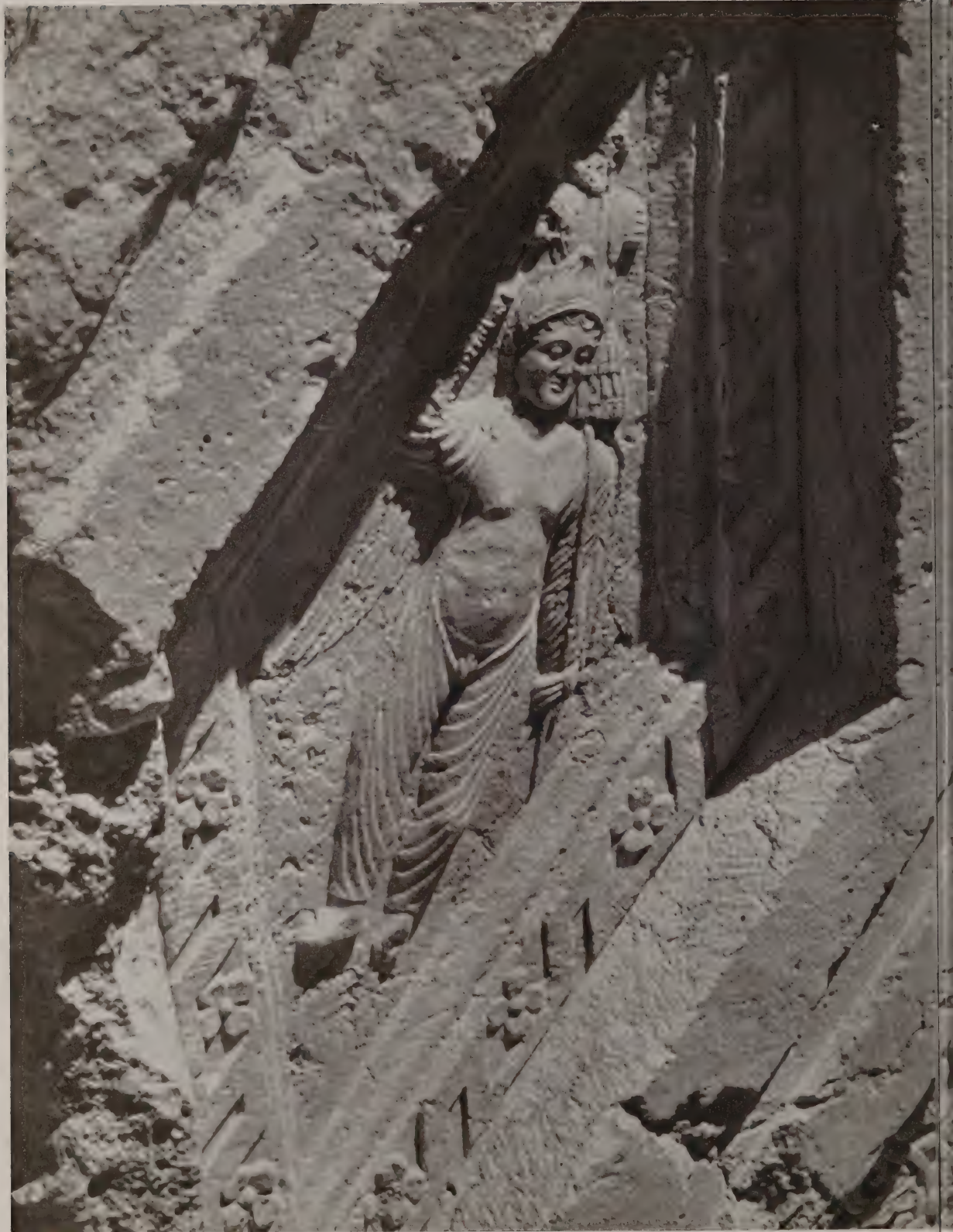
WALL OF TEMPLE OF BÊL, INTERIOR, NORTHWEST ANGLE

























TOMB EFFIGY OF ALLIYYAT, II-III CENTURY









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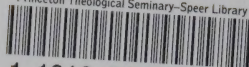
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